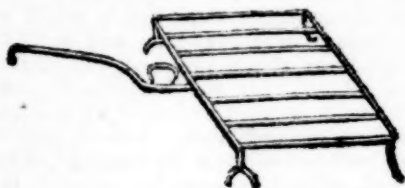


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 69.—No. 23.]

LONDON, SATURDAY, JUNE 5TH, 1830.

[Price 7d.



In the return published by the House of Commons, in June, 1808, are the following items: "Teller of the Exchequer, MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM, 23,093*l.* a year"; his brother, LORD GRENVILLE, Auditor of the Exchequer, "4,000*l.* a year." Another brother, THOMAS GRENVILLE, Chief Justice in Eyre, "2,316*l.* a year."

TO

## ALEXANDER BARING.

*Defence of the BISHOP OF LONDON, against an attack contained in a publication, purporting to be the report of a speech made by ALEXANDER BARING.*

*Bollitree, Herefordshire, 1st June, 1830.*

BARING,

WHY I choose *you* as the man to address myself to on this subject, I will tell you presently, when I have inserted the ROCHESTER PETITION, which prays for the *total abolition of tithes*. And here it is right that I remind my friends of ROCHESTER of *my own labours in the same vineyard*. In 1823, the county of Norfolk sent up a petition, praying that a part of the church property might be taken, and applied to the general purposes of the nation. This petition was presented to the House of Commons, received by that House, and recorded in its journals. At Penenden Heath, in the month of October, 1829, I tendered a petition for the approbation of the county, praying for a total abolition of the tithes, and for leaving the clergy to be maintained in the same manner as the dissenting ministers are maintained. At the Mechanics' Institute, in London, on the 4th of March last, I

made a speech, in which I maintained and proved, that it was not only legal and constitutional for the Parliament (if fairly chosen by the people) to deal with this property and apply it in any manner that they pleased; that it would not only be legal to take away the whole of this property from the clergy; but that it would be just towards the clergy themselves; and I said then, as I say now, that these opinions are not promulgated out of any dislike that I have to the church establishment itself; but to a sincere conviction which I entertain, that the religion of the church would be more honoured, and the working clergy greatly better paid, if left to the justice and generosity and piety of the people themselves. How much I must have been pleased, then, at reading the following petition, the sensible and spirited people of Rochester, and especially my friends there, will easily imagine. In short, this is my own cause. It is a subject which I first brought forward: it is one of my political babies, and a chopping baby it is. How I must be delighted to see the Collective coming into my doctrines. I always march in front. My friends of Rochester, you have the happiness to live in the neighbourhood of barracks and soldiers. You have seen a regiment drawn out in full show; and you have seen, of course, a little bunch of men far in advance of the head of the battalion, armed with axes and other such like tools. Those, my friends, are the PIONEERS going before to clear the road for the battalion. I am the pioneer in politics; and not only the pioneer, but the first man to enter the breach, or mount the rampart. I have had some rough handling, to be sure. The enemy has sometimes had me in prison, and sometimes driven me across the sea; and what is worse, the battalion itself has frequently kept firing at me in all directions; but, at last, I have got them in docile training, and now they all come after me as the flock follows

the wether that wears the bell. This is not a thing for me to find fault with, but a thing for me to be proud of; and it is with infinite pride that I here insert your excellent petition; not forgetting, at the same time, the spirited and praiseworthy motion made by Major WAITE, at the last meeting on Penenden Heath.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled.

"The Petition of the undersigned Owners and Occupiers of Land, and others, Inhabitants of Rochester, and its neighbourhood, in the County of Kent.

"HUMBLY SHEWETH, That, impelled by the distress that at present affects almost all classes of society, and which is, by general consent, admitted to be mainly occasioned by excessive taxation, the Petitioners beg leave to represent to your Honourable House the great relief that would be afforded by the abolition of Tithes, a tax which, by drawing so large a share of the gross produce of the land, is alike injurious to the community in general, to the agriculturists in particular, and to the best interests of religion. To the community, by unavoidably increasing the price of articles of most general and necessary consumption, to the agriculturists, by subjecting them to vexatious restrictions in the cultivation of the land, and by depriving them of the ability to compete with the foreign grower, or to contend against the importation of grain, which it is the present policy of this country to encourage, and to religion, by proving a fruitful source of discord between the clergyman and his parishioners, and so destroying that harmony, upon the continuance of which the success of his spiritual labours chiefly depends.

"In urging the abolition of this impolitic tax, the petitioner's disclaim, with the utmost sincerity, any desire to advocate a system of spoliation; on the contrary, they fully admit the vested rights of private patrons and lay impropriators, as well as the claims of the present incumbents to a life interest in their present incomes; but, due regard being paid to these, they maintain, that the tithe tax is, equally with all other taxes, properly the subject of legislative disposal; in opposition to the argument now much relied on, that tithes, having been given for the maintenance of religion, are therefore inalienable. The Roman Catholic might, with some plausibility, advance such a claim to their recovery, they having been originally granted for the support of his creed, but the Protestant can found his right upon the law of the land only; upon that law which, as it gave, can also modify or take away.

"It has been deemed necessary to accom-

pany all the plans heretofore proposed for the repeal of this objectionable tax with a substitute affording an equivalent income to the clergy; it is however evident, that, although a commutation might remove the inconvenience of the tithe system, yet it would afford no diminution of taxation; and as all taxes, in whatever shape imposed, fall ultimately upon labour, that the inability to compete with the less taxed labour of other countries would remain unabated. But the petitioners confidently submit that the time has, at length, arrived, when it ceases to be necessary to provide a substitute of this nature, as they consider, that, however essential the aid of wealth and honours may have hitherto been to the Church of England to enable her to lure to her service men of learning and talent, to advocate the truth and excellence of her doctrines and discipline, the necessity for such aid happily no longer exists. This task has been so ably performed, as to leave nothing further to be expected or desired, and it may be fairly assumed that the established religion can now be safely left to its own intrinsic excellence for its future support. The well-paid labours of those eminent men, who, attracted by the splendid rewards of the church, have enlisted in her cause, have so simplified the clerical duties as to make them practicable by persons of ordinary capacities and acquirements; to such an extent, indeed, as to render the functions of the clergy of the establishment almost entirely ministerial; for its comprehensive Liturgy, by supplying all the formularies of devotion, whether for prayer or praise, imprecation or benediction, disavowal or belief, and also strictly enjoining the various occasions upon which they are to be respectively used, affords no opportunity for the exercise of judgment, the exhibition of talent, or the display of learning. Nor do the duties of the preacher, any more than the minister, require an education superior to that which is usually bestowed upon the middling class of society; for the inexhaustible stores of invaluable sermons which have emanated from the labours of those highly-gifted divines who have, at different periods, shed a lustre upon the English church, afford a fund of instruction admirably adapted for every purpose, and to select from which requires but a moderate portion of literary attainments.

"The qualifications for the proper performance of these functions being few, and the acquisition of them not requiring expense, as they consist principally of propriety of demeanour, and the possession of the natural advantages of suitable voice and delivery, but moderate stipends would be necessary to ensure a sufficient number of competent candidates, even without any stipends; so that the petitioners consider that it would be a libel upon the members of the Established Church to doubt, for a moment, their liberality for this purpose, when it is seen how respectably the different Dissenting congregations maintain their pastors, and how readily they supply

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large sums for the erection of chapels and establishment of schools.

"In this economical plan of reform, there are no incomes from the state, for future archbishops, bishops, and the other dignitaries of the hierarchy. But the admirers of episcopacy need experience no alarm on that account, for the history of the early periods of the church satisfactorily shows that the care of suitably providing for all orders of its establishment may be safely entrusted to the proper feelings of the people.

"The petitioners have thus sketched the outlines of a scheme of reformation, which, when matured, would, they believe, work well, be generally approved, and render the abolition of tithes easily practicable. This plan would receive the approbation of many, who consider a wealthy priesthood as peculiarly unfitted to inculcate the precepts of Christianity, and who regard the unexpensive provision for its primitive teachers as indicative of the desire of its Founder, that his servants should look, not to riches or rank, but to a reward of a far different nature, as the recompense for their labours. Others, who are desirous of upholding the Church of England, would truly calculate that its adoption would tend to ensure the stability of that now tottering fabric, as, when shorn of its wealth and temporal honours, it would cease to be the object of attack, either of the financier or reformer. Those who are enamoured of the beauty and sublimity of the language of its Liturgy, or impressed with the conviction of the truth and importance of its creed, would most effectually protect these from innovation, by confining the office to a class of men who, from their functions being ministerial, would have neither opportunity nor temptation to deviate from the path of orthodoxy; whilst the community in general, and the agriculturists in particular, finding themselves relieved from an oppressive tax, would hail the reform with unalloyed satisfaction.

"The petitioners, therefore, pray your Honourable House to take the necessary steps to effect an early abolition of the Tithe Tax, a measure which would give more satisfaction to the country, and reflect greater credit upon the legislature, than any enactment that has been carried for centuries past; and, when coupled with the boon of religious liberty lately so liberally granted, would entitle the present Parliament to be mentioned in terms of the most glowing eulogium by the historian of the United Kingdom.

"And the petitioners shall ever pray," &c.

And now, Baring, I turn to you. When this petition was presented, the newspapers say that you made a speech, and this speech the *Morning Chronicle* gives us in the following words, which I insert in order that I may comment upon it; and not because I have any

respect for the man who is reported to have made it. I take it as a publication in a newspaper; and as such I shall handle it.

"Mr. BARING referred to what had fallen from him on a former day, on the subject of the annual value of the Sees of Canterbury and London. He felt called upon to admit that he *had been misinformed*, and had consequently made a very exaggerated statement, especially when he said that the income of the See of London would ere long be equal to 100,000*l.* a year. The Right Rev. Prelate, in another place had made a reply, which showed the extent of the error he (Mr. Baring) had committed. He most implicitly believed what had fallen from the Right Rev. Prelate, and he had himself taken the opportunity of inquiring. The result of his inquiry was a strong feeling of regret that he had given currency to a very exaggerated statement, which had *found its way round the country*. He had *heard it frequently asserted* of the Diocese of Winchester, in which he chiefly resided, that in the first year it produced to the bishop 90,000*l.* This statement, he had reason to know, was *far beyond the truth*. There was *one consolatory point in the late explanation of the Bishop of London, viz., the admission of his Lordship*, that if his income even approached the sum that had been mentioned, it *would be highly proper for Parliament to interfere for its regulation*. Such an opinion from such an authority *must have great weight*. He (Mr. Baring) thought that the Church committed a great error in shunning inquiry, in order to refute *prevalent exaggeration*. Great prejudices would thus be removed; but the Church did not place sufficient reliance on the hold it had of the feelings and affections of the country. In *Hampshire*, the tithe upon corn-lands amounted generally to *one-third or one-fourth*, and most of the *occupiers of the soil* would be glad to compound for one-fourth. Human wit could not have devised a mode of payment *more in-*



"convenient or offensive than that in which religion was paid for in this country. However the whole was a delicate question."

You had been *misinformed*, had you? You do not tell us who it was that had misinformed you. You are glad, are you, that the Bishop of London put a stop to an exaggeration, "*which had found its way round the country?*" Who carried it round the country, Baring? Not I; for I knew it to be a lie, and described it as such to every one that mentioned it to me. It found its way round the country in your speech, of which, it seems, you now repent. So much for that, Baring; and now for the Bishop of Winchester, whose first year's revenue, you had heard it "*frequently asserted*" was 90,000*l.* a year, a statement which you now know to be far beyond the truth. It is always above 40,000*l.* a year, in one way and another. But this is beside my present view, which is to remark on your bold meddling with this church property. Another remark, however, with regard to the amount of the tithes: you say, that in Hampshire, the tithe amounts, generally, to one-third or one-fourth. You cannot mean of the *produce*, because that would be a lie so impudent, so barefaced, that not even a stock-jobber, or loan-monger, or blaspheming Jew, would dare to put it forth. You must mean a third or a fourth of the rent of the land. Now, what "*prevalent exaggeration*" is there, then, about the amount of these tithes? Suppose the present rental of the lands alone to be about twenty millions in England and Wales. Here, according to your own showing, are seven millions a year for tithes; and my estimate of the church property in England and Wales, including the proprietorship or ownership of lands, houses, woods, mines, warrens, mills, manors, tolls, Easter-offerings, and all other fixed exactions, has never been over ten millions. So that, I pray you, do tell me where you have heard of the "*prevalent exaggerations*" relative to this church property. I have heard of none but those contained in your

speech relative to the revenue of the Bishop of London.

But, Baring, you seem to be almost glad that you did exaggerate; because, say you, "the late explanation of the Bishop of London has elicited an admission of his Lordship, that if his income even approached the sum that had been mentioned, it would be highly proper for Parliament to interfere for its regulation; an admission which, coming from such an authority, must have great weight."

"Great weight," in doing what, Baring? What do you want the weight for? What do you want it for, Baring? What is it to do? Why, to establish my doctrine, to be sure. To take the property away, and apply it to other purposes. I can hardly believe that the Bishop was such a fool as to make the admission, which would have come quite soon enough when a bill had been brought in to take away the property, as will be the case, I take it, in a couple of years' time or thereabouts. Surprising, if the Bishop did make such admission? But the truth is, that old Mammy Church begins to falter in every accent. How changed she is within the last few years! She "*breaks very fast*," as we say of other old ladies. She is no longer that bouncing dame that she was in 1794, when she frightened poor Mr. RUGGLES to suppress his book, which inculcated the right of the poor to be maintained out of the tithes; no longer that boisterous lady that she was in 1817, when the Hampshire parsons bullied a county meeting into an address of thanks on account of the passing of the gagging and dungeoning bill, and in the year 1819, when PARSON HAY got his rich living of Rochdale, directly after having been the principal Magistrate in the Manchester affair of the 16th of August. She is quite an altered creature. Keeps as quiet as a lamb. Looks as if butter would not melt in her mouth.

Time was, Baring, when a Bishop of London, or even a vicar of your parish, would not have condescended to give explanations on such a subject to a man like you; and if he had condescended

to notice what you said, would have talked to you somewhat in the style that I am about to talk to you now.

You had said, it seems, that the Bishop's income for the See of London, would, before long, amount to an hundred thousand pounds a year. Well, Baring, and if it did, what right have you to say any thing against that? The Bishop of London is the son of a very worthy man, who was a schoolmaster, eminent in his profession. The Bishop of London is a learned man, and possessed of great talents; and he is an Englishman born and bred, as his fathers before him were. He appears not to have been a dependent of the aristocracy at any time of his life; he is connected with none of them by marriage; he has, doubtless, attained his high rank and great power, because the ministers thought that his well-known talents and zeal and industry would make use of that power in the most efficient manner for upholding the Government and the present order of things; but there was nothing unnatural in this; he has attained to his eminence without any dirty or mean arts; and, supposing the system to be a good one, as you do, there is not a man in the House of Lords more worthy of respect and of honour. *For my part*, I would not let him have, out of public property, an income of an hundred thousand pounds, nor of one single penny: as he is a descendant of the apostles, I would give him apostolical allowance, and no more. The apostles held, that the *priests should live by the altar*; and by the altar he should live, if I could have my way.

But *you*, Baring! You stand in somewhat different stead; and let me ask you whether the Bishop of London be not as worthy of an hundred thousand pounds a year as you are? Whether the rights of his See are not quite as clear as your rights at *Callington* and at *Thetford*? Ah, Baring, it is, as you say, "*a delicate question*"! Yes, Baring, whether his rights as Lord of the Manor of Fulham; whether his rights to his palace and his rents do not stand upon as firm a foundation as your brother's

rights in the parishes of Stratton and Micheldever. Aye, Baring, and be you well assured, my boy, that his rights never will be touched without the touch extending not only to the parcels of property which I have here mentioned, but to a great many other parcels of property, which you may look upon as the legitimate proceeds of profits upon loans. No, no, Baring, it is not a bit more improper that the Bishop of London should have an estate than that you and your family should have twenty. You seem to rejoice that the Bishop of London has admitted that the Parliament can, if need be, interfere *with his revenue*. Now, Baring, I do not exactly know on what footing of legal right your own numerous and immense parcels of property stand; but this I take upon me to assert; and I defy, I challenge the whole bar and the bench to contradict me if they can, that there exists no law, and no principle of law, according to which the Parliament can take a shilling from the revenue of the See of London, without, at the same time, and by the same act, establishing the right of the Parliament to take, and to apply to public purposes, every inch of land in the parishes of Stratton and Micheldever!

So that it really is, Baring, a "*delicate question*." Much too delicate to be handled in this hasty manner by a man like you. The truth is, the necessities of the country are just as they were in France, urging on a destruction of the establishments. The question in France was simply this, *Whether the church should be destroyed, or the debt go unpaid?* Burke contended that the creditors of the state ought not to have been paid at the expense of the church; and what he foretold came to pass, the destruction of the church and of the creditors too. Our affair is different in this, that *our church has been plundered before*; and, Baring, be you assured, that if the remainder of what is possessed by the church, be appropriated to public purposes, *the appropriation will not stop there*, unless far greater wisdom be displayed than any that I have witnessed in England within the last forty years.

*Encore un coup!* as the French preachers say. You, Baring, are said (and I believe the fact) to have, in divers fat parts of England, *a hundred thousand acres of land to your own cheek*, as the Jews call it. Now, what pretensions have *you* to such possessions better than Mr. Bloomfield has to the estate appertaining to his see? As to *origin*, you are, to be sure, the son of a man who, from a merchant's clerk, rose to be a merchant, a loan-maker, and to be made a BARONET by PITT. Your wife, to be sure, was one of the daughters of Old BINGHAM of Philadelphia, who, during the war which shook off from his country the authority of his then King, was fortunate, first, in his share of a gallant privateer, and, after the war was over, equally fortunate in his dealings in the American funds. You yourself have been a loan-maker, or monger; and, I think, you had some hand, or share, in the loan made to the United States, to enable them to purchase of Bonaparte that very LOUISIANA, the possession of which led to their having the Floridas, and is now letting them into that MEXICO, to keep them out of which you now appear to be so anxious!

Come, come, now, Baring; clear as was your legal right to deal in the loan, by which the United States got LOUISIANA, and by which Bonaparte got English money to carry on the war against England; fair and honourable as may be the profession of loanmonger, and praiseworthy as might be the sources of wealth of your father and father-in-law; still, Baring, one may, I think, contend without incurring the charge of ill-nature, that the Bishop of London and his wife have as good a right to ride in a coach and six as you and Old Bingham's daughter have; that he is as worthy of his palace and manor of Fulham as you are of those of the Grange, or of any of those other mansions and manors, in the possession of which you have supplanted so many lords and ancient families; and, finally, that one may, without being deemed mad, express a doubt whether any body of law-makers will ever be

found to pass an act to declare any of *your* possessions *more sacred* than those which belong to his see.

*Encore un coup!* I cannot get my pen off the paper. I try hard; but I cannot. I have done with you; but the pen will go on. Your reported speech makes you say, that "human wit could not have devised a mode of payment more *inconvenient* or *offensive* than that in which religion is *paid for* in this country." Pretty *bold*, when it is known that this mode of "*paying for religion*," as it is here insolently called: pretty bold and vulgar as one could expect, even from the lips of a loan-monger; pretty rude and presumptuous, when it is known that the yielding of tithes has made an essential part of the law of the land for upwards of twelve hundred years: pretty bold this, in a man the pedigree of whose family boasts that they are of Dutch origin, and came over to England about the time that England began to be cursed with paper-money and national debts; pretty bold, indeed; but its boldness yields in point of pre-eminence to its *ignorance*, which is truly brutal.

"*Payment for religion*"! What, then, Baring, is it your notion that if the tithes were to be abolished, the *worth* of those tithes would become the property of the *land-owners*? Is this your notion, Baring? After what you have seen the people of England submit to; after having witnessed the baseness of the press in applauding your brother loan-monger, Ricardo, for having got half a million of money by "*watching the turn of the market*"; and after witnessing the incomparably base adulation paid to yourself, you may, not without some degree of reason, think that the nation would be foolish and slavish enough to take the tithes from the parsons, give them to the landowners, pay the parsons out of their own pockets, or live like heathens and be buried like dogs, or, which would be much about as good, all turn ranters and canters, and have their souls frightened out of their bodies. From what you have witnessed, of late years, you

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may believe this ; but, Baring, if you do believe it, you deceive yourself. A nation is not to be duped a *second* time in precisely the same way. This nation *now* understands pretty well how the poor-rates and the church-rates came ; it understands, thanks to my HISTORY OF THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION, how the aristocracy took to themselves the property that formerly maintained the poor and repaired the churches, and threw those charges upon the people at large : thanks *to me*, the nation now understands this pretty well ; and be you well assured, Baring, that it is not going to suffer the landowners to take away the tithes, to make the people pay the parsons, or to turn the churches into stables or ranting shops. My friends of Rochester have no such notion as this, I trust. Oh, no ! whenever the property called church property be taken from the clergy, the amount of it will be applied, to be sure, to purposes beneficial to the nation. A pretty story, indeed ! Give you the tithes on your hundred thousand acres of land ; and so strip a hundred parsons probably of the means of keeping their families, or compel the people in an hundred parishes to pay for the maintenance of the parsons, while you snugly clap the amount of the tithes into your pocket ! Oh, no, Baring ! oh, no, Ricardo ! The thing will not be done thus, be you assured : the thing will be *done*, I am certain ; but it will not be done in this way.

The thing is even now actually begun to be done. The *grubbing* which I mentioned in my letters to Davenport and Graham is now going on with regard to this other great root of the tree ; and the workmen are Davenport's 658, who are now at it with all the tools before mentioned. To drop figure, they have before them a bill to cause a COMPULSORY COMPOSITION for tithes. That is enough. The very existence of the bill is a famous chop into this great root. The very idea gives the whole tree a *jar*, and makes every sensible spectator, especially if he has been parson-ridden, rejoice with exceeding joy. And what do the

famous 658 mean to effect by this bill ? What is their object ? What *good* do the sensible 658 mean to accomplish by this bill ? Do they mean to compel the clergy to receive *less* upon the whole than they now receive ; or do they not ? If they do mean this, they mean to *take away part of the church property from the clergy* ; if they do not mean to do this, what benefit do they mean to confer on the landowners or occupiers ? Oh ! they will leave the parsons and the dean and chapter and college fellows in the receipt of *full as much money* as before ; but the *mode* of payment will not be so "*inconvenient*" and "*offensive*." So it is to make a great difference to me whether I give the ten pounds, for instance, in the name of tithe or in the name of composition. Not one straw's worth of difference, Baring ; and all the effect that the bill will produce will be that of a practical proof that the *Parliament is competent to do what it pleases with this property* ; and this will naturally produce an universal cry for taking away the property altogether and *applying it to national purposes*.

"Lie still if you're wise,"

said the sensible epitaph over a greedy old loan-monger ; and, Baring, if the 658 *be wise*, they will make their tongues lie still upon the subject of clerical property and dues. The time for *them* to talk about this *ticklish matter* will come *quite soon enough* ! And with this friendly hint I take my leave of you, Baring, for the present. It is, indeed, "*a delicate matter*," Baring : much too delicate for a man like you to touch : *Mexican Bonds* you and Sir Bobby and the like may meddle with ; but *this* is "*meat for your master*."

WM. COBBETT.

## TO BIG O.

*On his and BURDETT's praise of the JEWS, and on the scene at the Purity-of-Election Dinner.*

Monmouth, 1st June, 1830.

BIG O,—Your bombastical stuff at the "*purity*"-dinner on the 23d of May

appears to have been your grand effort for the *season*, though the cruel reporters have given you but just *seven-eighths of an inch* in their sheets. I will speak of this dinner affair by-and-by, but first a little about the Jews. It has excited a good deal of curiosity throughout the country to observe that the Catholics should have been amongst the forwardest in endeavouring to push these blasphemers into offices of trust, power, and honour; that avowed Deists and Atheists should think and assert that those who call Jesus Christ an impostor, are quite as good as those who adore his name, is natural enough; that those whom Catholics call *heretics* should endeavour to exalt the Jews might not have been so very surprising to the main body of the Catholics; but that Catholics themselves should be the FOREMOST to advocate the cause of, to remove the odium from, to extol, and to raise into power, political as well as civil; that Catholics should thus exert themselves; that they who kneel before the cross every day of their lives, and make the sign of the cross before they put victuals into their mouths, and before they lie down upon their beds; that Catholics should act thus; that a Catholic duke should have presented the petition to the House of Lords, and that Catholics should, indeed, have been their almost only zealous advocates: this must appear surprising to those who do not know the true characters of these Catholics.

There was a petition, I see, presented from WORCESTER, in favour of the Jews. This petition was presented, as the report says, by JOHN MARTIN, who is a member for FEWKESBURY. It was got up, I believe, or, at least, it was carried round for signatures, by a Mr. HANFORD, who is a Roman Catholic and a brother-in-law of this Martin. In justice to the city of Worcester, and to the Catholics there, the names, or at least the number of the names, at the bottom of this petition ought to be published. I do not believe that the names exceeded twenty in number; I know one Catholic of that city who refused to sign it, and who spoke of it with great disapproba-

tion; and I know that the Catholics of Worcester in general looked upon the thing with just abhorrence; since I have been from home, I have, I dare say, spoken with more than a hundred Catholics upon this subject; and I have met with but one who did not abhor the idea of granting the requests of these blasphemers. Every Catholic priest that I have seen, and I have seen a great many, has spoken of the proposed measure, and of its supporters, with disapprobation the most decided.

My dislike of the Jews is that which our forefathers had of them: I dislike them as insolent ruffians, who mock at the religion and morality of Christians; I dislike them as *people that never work*, and form a body of wretches who live by trick; I dislike them as usurers, and the great agents of those systems of usury by which so many nations have so severely suffered; and this nation, above all others; in France they were the rapacious farmers of the taxes; in Poland, in Germany, in Hungary; every where, where they have been allowed to practise their arts of plunder, they have produced ruin to the people, and very frequently to the state. There is something hateful in the very nature of those ceremonies which they have the infamy to call religious. All *women* ought to look upon them as worse than dogs; for one of the prayers that every Jew repeats daily contains these words: "I thank thee, God, for not having made me a woman," while the woman is taught to say, "I humbly thank thee, God, for having made me what I am."

They have invariably been the supporters of tyranny in all parts of the world; and the most profligate of tyrants have taken them to their bosoms, and received their adulation in return. Cromwell, after he became the tyrant of England, endeavoured to put them upon a level with Christians; they lent him money to sustain his usurpation, and the vile wretches pretended to believe him to be the true MESSIAH! Bonaparte, when he had become a tyrant, had basely betrayed his trust, and had made a league with those whom the French people had commissioned

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him to destroy, insolently put these wretches upon a level with the French people, and authorised them to hold their *Sanhedrim* (grand council) at Paris, and thence to promulgate their audacious blasphemies. In return they promulgated, that Bonaparte was the MESSIAH! Take care, Big O, and get Burdett to take care along with you; or one of you, if not both, will get the same title. To a certainty, if the bill had been carried, one of you two, or the Duke of Norfolk, would have been their Messiah! The Duke would have made a very fine Messiah; aye, and so would you or Burdett either.

All just and great lawgivers have taken care to withhold all encouragement from these people; and as to immunities and rights, they have never possessed any in any christian state in the world. In our own country, the history of them is quite sufficient to convince any man of the ruinous consequences of permitting even their existence to any considerable extent. The law never recognised even their right of residence in the country, though born in the country: they might always be dealt with just as the sovereign pleased to deal with them; and, at times, when the sovereign had been carelessly indulgent, as in the reign of Richard I., the people themselves interfered and abated the nuisance. Wherever they are suffered to increase to any extent, and to carry on their blasphemies and usurious transactions openly, they soon reduce great part of the people to the lowest stage of misery. This was the case in the reign of Richard I., when the people at last rose upon them, and hunted them down like beasts of prey. That gallant but unreflecting King was collecting an army in order to go and drive the infidels from the Holy Land; but the people thought it unreasonable to go to fight against infidels in Palestine, leaving this swarm of more inveterate infidels in England. The greatest King that ever reigned in England, since the days of Alfred; the greatest, the wisest, the bravest, Edward I., whose reign was a reign of justice unparalleled, banished them for ever; and

every great lawyer has applauded the wisdom of that banishment. Lord Coke, in his Institutes, not only lays it down that they have no rights of any sort, but that they ought not to have any; and it is nothing but the soft-headed and hypocritical pretenders to liberality that pretend that the law ought to be changed.

The law regards them as *aliens*; and I can remember the time when a proclamation, or order of council, was issued, *forbidding them to go more than so many miles from St. Paul's Church, London*. This was when I was a very little boy; but I remember it well, because it was occasioned by a horrible murder, committed at Chelsea, by a banditti of Jews. The thing was so much talked of in the country, that I have never forgotten it, nor forgot even the name of the person in whose house the murder was committed. It was at the house of a Mrs. HUTCHINS, a widow, who occupied a farm and gardens at Chelsea. The Jews went to the house in the night, forced the door open by the means of a screw, or a jack, and robbed the house of every thing valuable. Mrs. Hutchins and her children escaped with their lives, by some means that I do not now recollect; but a servant man was murdered by these bloody Jews, in a manner so barbarous, and attended with such circumstances of mutilation, and of studied *insult to human nature*, as to rouse the indignation of all England from one end of the country to the other. Divers other atrocities and burglarious deeds had been committed by these banditti. The feeling was so strong amongst the country people, that the proclamation was necessary, in order to prevent the Jews from being killed, if they prowled into the country. I, therefore, who recollected this affair so well, was somewhat surprised that Mr. HUTCHINS, of Kensington, who is, I believe, the son of the Mrs. Hutchins above mentioned, and who is a rich and respectable man, and whose life was probably saved by the murdered servant; I was somewhat surprised that he could suffer such a bill to lie on the table of the House of Commons for an hour,

without petitioning against it. For many years after that affair, we never used to see a Jew, in the country, without driving him away, with a cry of "*Chelsea*" at his heels. I have pelted them many a time with snow-balls, or rotten apples, or clods of dirt; and I thought I was doing my duty. This proclamation, or order in council, or whatever it was, which must be on record, clearly shows in what light the Jews were regarded by the law.

Strange alterations! "Waust improvements, ma'am!" For now the Jews are in a sort of partnership with the government, and with the trustees of the turnpike roads; and, if the newspapers be not liars, dukes dine with them and they dine with dukes! Some of you have said that they have been put upon a footing with Christians in the United States of America. The truth is, that no law whatsoever has ever been passed respecting them in America. All the English test laws have been repealed there; but, with the exception of the state of New York, I believe, and with the exception of the affirmation allowed to the Quakers, there is still test enough to shut out from power all but Christians. I have never heard of but one Jew being admitted to any public trust at all, and he was no more than a sheriff of a county; and even this arose out of very peculiar circumstances. So far from encouraging and favouring Jews, the Americans detest them. When I was at Leicester the other day, I saw a gentleman recently from America, who had witnessed the expulsion of the Jews from the State of KENTUCKY. There were six of them at LOUISVILLE, who had been guilty of so many, and such atrocious acts of usury, who had robbed and ruined so many unsuspecting persons, that a public meeting upon that subject was called in the town, at which a proposition was made to expel them from the state by force. The principal speaker at the meeting observed, that, though it was the first duty of free men to obey the law, and that though the law sanctioned the residence of these people, still the legislature had not contemplated

the possibility of so great an evil; that the case was a case of all-subduing necessity; and that the people were as clearly justified in putting away by force this moral pestilence as they would be in keeping out of the state people infected with the plague. Upon which the meeting came to a unanimous resolution to act accordingly, and actually drove them clean out of the state. They have never existed but as a pest: they never work; never do anything useful to man; never till the land; never make clothes or houses; their whole lives are spent in getting at money somehow or other; they are the great props of all gaming houses; as soon as prize fighting became a sort of base gambling, they took possession of that blackguard concern. This system is their element; and as long as it shall exist, so long will they be suffered to exist here, but not one moment longer. They are every where naturally the friends of political corruption; and as naturally the enemies of political freedom.

Now, Big O, so much for you and the Jews; but I should like to see you down upon your knees before your big crucifix, thumping your breast with one hand, putting your other hand behind your back to be shaken by a Jew, who is pointing with his finger and mocking at the crucifix, the father of lies patting you on the back, and chuckling with delight, while upon a tack on a side of the room, hangs your hat with a bunch of palm in it as big as the plume of a hearse. I should like to see this well represented by the pencil, and written at the bottom, "*DAN'S DEVOTIONS.*"

Your scene at the purity dinner seems to have been a most curious affair. What famous radical reformers you are all become! How converted since the month of May, 1827; when Burdett declared that he would support Canning, though that impudent fellow declared that he would *oppose parliamentary reform to the last hour of his life!* What! the wind has changed, has it? Patriot Burdett will not support any body now that is not for parliamentary reform. If I had time, this dinner affair should

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afford my readers famous sport. The meeting, it seems, consisted of very few persons; but there were quite enough to hear the lies and impudent nonsense poured forth on that occasion. Your dose seems to have been too strong even for the stomach of Burdett himself, and so, like Cæsar, he *swooned*.

"CASCA. The rabblement hooted,  
"and clapp'd their chop't hands,  
"and uttered such a deal of  
"stinking breath, that it had al-  
"most choked Cæsar, for he  
"swooned and fell down at it;  
"and, for mine own part, I durst  
"not laugh, for fear of opening  
"my lips and receiving the bad  
"air."

A scene of precious folly to be sure! That LORD EBRINGTON seems to be a promising youth. How a man could tell so many impudent lies as is contained in the thing called his speech, is truly astonishing. One thing, however, in your proceedings of this day is not to be censured; and that is the most unmeasured becalling of the House of Commons that ever I read or even heard of. So that, at any rate, you have done something to deserve praise. However, the interesting thing is this: that not one word of this censure would have escaped from your lips, had you not been convinced that a reform would come *in spite of you*. There was not one man of you present, who spoke, that would not prevent a parliamentary reform if he could. You see that you cannot prevent it; you see that that is out of your power; and therefore it is that you now again begin to talk of parliamentary reform. You, and all of you put together, cannot prevent it: you will to the last possible moment prevent it; but it is a thing with which MEN have nothing to do. It is gone beyond that: no man, and no set of men, can either hasten it on, or retard it: *events* will bring it, and events will create the men to carry it through, and, I trust, in a manner that shall baffle all the hopes of the base hypocrites who are now endeavouring to prepare the way for still clinging on to the thing, whatever shape it may assume.

## TO THE COLLECTIVE WISDOM.

Monmouth, 1st June, 1830.

"NORLEST ASSEMBLY OF FREEMEN IN THE WORLD," as GRAHAM calls you, how you are tormented with this BEER BILL! What pains you take about providing wash for the "*swinish multitude*"! What a dilemma you are in! Your amiable nature has placed you in a difficulty from which it appears next to impossible to extricate you. You are anxious that the people, who have the happiness to live under the force of your wise and just acts, should have "*a cheap and wholesome beverage*," that more malt should be made, and more barley sold; and yet while you are thus paternally solicitous about providing for the *bodies* of the people, you, on the other hand, are not solicitous about the health of their souls. You would make the trade in beer *free*; but yet you must take care of our *morals*. So that while, on the one hand, you are taking off the *beer duty*, and allowing *any man* to take out, at the expense of two guineas, a *license* to sell it; while you, in this curious manner, make the trade in beer FREE; while your "*liberal*" and "*noble*" nature prompts you to this; your care of our precious and immortal souls induces you to compel any one taking out such license, to find, *before* he get the license, *bondsmen* to be *surety* for any *finer* that *may be inflicted on him*! Excellent Collective! "Liberal" Collective! "Noblest assembly of freemen in the whole world"!

Now, MONCK, who appears to have been the most conspicuous in this work of securing our souls, what will the bill then *effect*? The real object of it was, to cause *more beer to be drunk*; that is to say, *more malt to be made*; that is to say, *more barley to be sold*; that is to say, *more money to be paid to the farmers for barley*; that is to say, MORE MONEY TO BE PAID TO THE LANDLORDS FOR RENT. Nothing more natural, rational, amiable, generous, and humane. But, alas! to effect this object, our poor souls must be with-



drawn from the ever-vigilant care of the *parson justices*! And so there is still to be a *license*; and tighter than before, *BONDSMEN beforehand*! And so the devil of one single pot of beer will be drunk, the devil of one gallon of malt will be made, the devil of one gallon of barley will be sold, the devil of one penny of rent will be paid more than before the passing of the act; and MONCK, mind, I say, that in spite of all the prayers of all the incorrupt and virtuous *publicans of Reading*, barley will sell at *half a crown a bushel before next Christmas-day*. By making the trade in beer *really free*, the consumption of barley *would have been increased*, and the *landowners* would have profited at the expense of the *monopolists* of the beer trade; but the former cannot find in their hearts to give out of their hands the double-thonged lash of the *licensing and fining system*. Poor gentlemen! What a pity that they cannot have *both*! Alas! MONCK, the *moral* and *public-spirited* beer-sellers and makers of Reading, whose virtues enable them to influence so many sober electors, may say what they like; but there is no remedy for this complicated disease, which afflicts the pious and generous landowners, other than one that will make barley *five shillings the Winchester bushel*, and enable the *Borough Bank* to pay in gold at the same time. Find out this remedy, MONCK, and then to prove the *liberality* of the age, you may make booksellers and map-sellers, and even tinkers and tailors, GIVE BOND.

WM. COBBETT.

### NEW PUBLICATION.

AGREEABLY to the hint that I gave in the Register of last week, I shall on the FIRST OF JULY, publish the FIRST NUMBER of a MONTHLY PAMPHLET, to be called

TWO-PENNY TRASH;

OR

POLITICS FOR WORKING PEOPLE.

It will be in the DUODECIMO form; each Number will consist of *one sheet*,

well filled with matter; the main *object* will be, to show the working people *what are the causes* of their being poor; *what it is* that makes them so badly off, while the working people in the United States of America are so well off; *what it is*, that in spite of their ingenuity, industry, and frugality, makes them unable to provide in a suitable manner, for their wives and children; and the *motto* will be,

"Yes, while I live, no rich or noble knave  
"Shall walk the world in credit to his grave."

This pretty little work shall take in the *past* and the *present*; it shall show how the public money *is raised*, and *who gets it*; it shall contain heaps of most interesting facts and *biographical anecdotes*; it shall speak *plain*, and prepare the people for that really RADICAL REFORM that is now at no great distance. It shall strip the thick mantle from political hypocrisy; it shall lay hypocrites and oppressors *bare*, and then leave them to be dealt with as justice shall dictate; it shall inculcate industry, sobriety, conjugal fidelity, paternal care and tenderness, filial affection and duty, honesty towards employers, due obedience to the laws, devotion to the country, and *inextinguishable hatred* against its worst enemies, *those who wallow in public plunder*. In short, it shall contain matter which, when once got into the head of a working man, will remain there for the whole of his life, and be to him and to his children after him, a mass of *useful knowledge*.

It remains for me to speak of the *mode of publication*. The SIX ACTS forbid me to publish a work like this oftener than *once a month*; and they *compel* me to publish it *within two days of the first of the month*, on pain of being pretty nigh half-killed. Beautiful "*liberty of the press*!" The publication will, of course, be at my shop, in London, No. 183, Fleet-street. The retail price will be TWO-PENCE, with the usual allowance to booksellers. I sell no books to booksellers at a distance, nor, indeed, to any body, except *at the shop*; so that booksellers in the country

will please to apply to their correspondents in town, who will, of course, send the required supply in their *monthly parcels*.

WM. COBBETT.

*Bollitree, Herefordshire, 1st June, 1830.*

AND NOW, MASTER BROUGHAM, you shall see whether I am not more than a match for your "*Useful Knowledge*" humbug: you shall feel your nose nipped off, if you venture to poke it out only a quarter of an inch too far. I want no "*society*," no "*subscription*," to send my work about. It will want no *pushing* about: it will contain a spring, in its inside, to set it and keep it in motion. I dare say that *your works* are published at a *loss*; what else is the "*subscription*" for? In short, they are *forced* about; half *given away*; and, as is natural and right, nobody but "the *society*" ever reads them. You shall see that I will send forth some stuff that people will *read*, and be eager to read, without any *coaxing* to do it. What do you want of a "*subscription*," if you can *sell* your tracts? What! you *sell* your tracts; you brag of the *extent of the sale*; and yet you want a *subscription* to assist you in carrying on the publication! You are an odd sort of author! Now, I shall want no subscription; and this marks the great difference between us: this shows, in fact, that your stuff is *not sold to a profit*; that you *force it about*; and that it produces no other effect than that of causing you to be *laughed at*.

### THE DEBT.

*(From the Leeds Patriot of the 16th of May.)*

THE most important feature by far in the Parliamentary discussions of the last week, was the one in the House of Lords on the state and prospects of the country. The speech of Lord GODERICH will be remembered and referred to after to-day. It is replete with most important matter; and however accidentally the new doctrines *appear* to have been delivered, we see cause of

congratulation in them to the country at large, although it is evidently intended that one important class in the country, namely, the fundholders, must prepare for sacrifices. We have given his Lordship's speech at great length, and particularly call the attention of our readers to it. During the course of our lives, we have witnessed nearly all the redundant capital in the country lent to the Government. Formerly this capital formed the life-blood of every species of manufacture and commerce, and in every town there were found persons who, by their good conduct and industry, proved themselves worthy of confidence and encouragement; and, in consequence, were the depositaries of the savings as well as the unemployed money in the neighbourhood. The shocks given to trade at different periods during the last war, made havoc in many instances, which neither the strictest prudence nor the most diligent application could prevent; and failures of respectable traders ensued. The unhappy circumstances sometimes attending these failures, were eagerly laid hold of by the ministerial organs of the day, and investments solely in the funds were recommended in every shape and form, as the easiest, best, and safest security. The feeling which was thus created caused nearly all lenders to withdraw their money from tradesmen, which again caused additional distress. Still the Government persevered in every possible way to get hold of the people's money, until at the last the late Mr. GEORGE ROSE came forward with his "Savings' Bank" plan. This plan had the effect of gathering the very smallest sums from lenders, which before that period had invariably been distributed in the different local neighbourhoods.

The leading principle in men's minds during the several years these operations were going on, was, that in lending their money to the Government, there *was no risk*. Nay, so lately as the commencement of the present session, when the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER brought forward his plan regarding the reduction of the interest of the four per cents., one part of the plan

notoriously was, that the dissentients *should be paid off*, that is, have their capital returned to them. The new doctrine which has been delivered by Lord GODERICH, and cheered by the Duke of WELLINGTON, is of a very different complexion: it is that the fundholders never expected nor ever can expect, to receive more than an annuity for their money lent to the Government.

His Lordship observed, that it was absurd to estimate the reduction of the debt by the diminution of capital, and then said that—"An ordinary debt was composed of capital lent to the debtor; it was confided to the borrower to repay what he borrowed at his own convenience, and it was confided to the lender to demand back his principal. Of these two conditions only one was applicable to the National Debt. By the contract the State had entered into with its debtors, it had a right to pay them off whenever it was convenient or advisable to do so; but by the terms of the contract, the public creditor could never claim from the state a single shilling of what he had advanced. The utmost which he was entitled to claim, and to that alone had the state pledged itself, was the payment of an annuity" (Hear, hear, from the Duke of WELLINGTON.)

The remaining part of his Lordship's speech, which is dwelt upon with so much delight, is the statement that, "In 1816 the total of the charge for the funded and unfunded debt was 32,938,751*l.* In 1829 the charge for the funded debt was 28,277,117*l.*, and the interest of Exchequer bills 878,494*l.*, so that the total diminution on that of 1829 compared with 1816, was 3,783,140*l.* When the operation respecting the Four per Cents. should be completed, the reduction on the charge for the national debt for next year, as compared with 1816, would be four millions and a half. This diminution in the charge was equivalent to a reduction of 150 millions of capital at three per cent."

His Lordship, however, evidently evades the relative value of money in 1816 and 1829, on which the whole

question hinges. If this question had been gone into, it would have been discovered, that although there is a nominal reduction in the charges of 3,783,140*l.*, yet in consequence of the changes in our monetary laws, the charge for the year 1829 was in effect and reality greater than it was in 1816.

Some there are who imagine, that this extraordinary speech was intended to give foreigners some new notions of the power of Great Britain. There could be no possible harm in this; but we strongly suspect that foreign governments are better acquainted with the internal state of England than his Lordship. We cannot divest our memory of the boasting speech Lord GODERICH made regarding the state of the country in 1824, and the never-to-be-forgotten panic which gave the "finish" to his rhetorical flourishes. We strongly suspect men's minds are not so buoyant as they were at that period, not to be so easily led away by mere declamation. We, however, wish not to press this subject further at the present; it is one of infinite importance, and we have said quite sufficient to induce our readers to think for themselves.

#### ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN.

THE *Eleventh Number* of this work is *now published*; and the two Numbers that were out of print, are *re-published*. I intended to conclude the work in Twelve Numbers; but there must be Fourteen; so that it will be completed on the 1st of September.

#### ANOTHER SERMON.

*Just Published,*

At my shop, No. 183, Fleet-Street, London, and to be had of all booksellers in town and country, PRICE SIX-PENCE, a Sermon, entitled, "GOOD FRIDAY; or, THE MURDER OF JESUS CHRIST BY THE JEWS": addressed to *Christians* of all denominations.—My other Sermons, *twelve in number*, may be had in one volume, price 3*s.* 6*d.*



**THE ENGLISH GARDENER**; or, A Treatise on the Situation, Soil, Enclosing, and Laying-out, of Kitchen Gardens; on the making and managing of Hot-Beds and Green-Houses, and on the Propagation and Cultivation of all sorts of Kitchen Garden Plants, and of Fruit Trees, whether of the Garden or the Orchard; and also, on the Formation of Shrubberies and Flower Gardens; and on the Propagation and Cultivation of the several sorts of Shrubs and Flowers; concluding with a Calendar, giving instructions relative to the Sowings, Plantings, Prunings, and other Labours to be performed in the Gardens in each month of the year. There are several Plates in this Work, to represent the laying out of Gardens, the operation of Grafting, Budding, and Pruning. It is printed on Fine Paper, contains 500 pages, and is sold at 6s. in Boards.

**THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR**; a New Edition. Of this Work, from first to last, Sixty Thousand Copies have been sold; and I verily believe that it has done more to produce real education, as far as correct writing and speaking go, than any book that ever was published. I have received from the year 1820, to the present time, continual thanks, by word of mouth and by letter, from young men, and even from old men, for this work, who have said, that, though many of them had been at the University, they never rightly understood Grammar till they studied this work. I have often given the Reviewers a lash for suffering this Work to pass them unreviewed; but I have recently discovered that the newly-published **EDINBURGH ENCYCLOPEDIA** says of it, that, "for all common purposes, it is the best Treatise we possess, and that it is entitled to supersede all the popular, and many of the scientific, productions on the subject of our language." The price of this book is 3s. in boards.

**POOR MAN'S FRIEND**; or, Essays on the Rights and Duties of the Poor. This is really the most *learned* Work that I ever wrote; that is to say, learned in the Law. I have entered fully into the matter; and I have brought together all the authorities, from those of Holy Writ down to the present day. I oppose it to the infamous doctrine of **MALTHUS**. A small Volume. Price 1s.

**A FRENCH GRAMMAR**; or, Plain Instructions for the Learning of French. The notoriously great sale of this Book is no bad criterion of its worth. The reason of its popularity is its *plainness*, its *simplicity*. I have made it as plain as I possibly could: I have encountered and overcome the difficulty of giving *clear definitions*: I have proceeded in such a way as to make the task of learning as little difficult as possible. The price of this book is 5s. in boards.

## THE WOODLANDS:

OR,

### A TREATISE

On the preparing of ground for planting; on the planting; on the cultivating; on the pruning; and on the cutting down of Forest Trees and Underwoods;

### DESCRIBING

The usual growth and size and the uses of each sort of tree, the seed of each, the season and manner of collecting the seed, the manner of preserving and of sowing it, and also the manner of managing the young plants until fit to plant out;

### THE TREES

Being arranged in Alphabetical Order, and the List of them, including those of America as well as those of England, and the English, French, and Latin names being prefixed to the directions relative to each tree respectively.

I know every thing about the rearing and managing of Trees myself, from the gathering of the Seed, to the cutting-down and the applying of the Tree; and *all* that I know I have communicated in this Book. It is handsomely printed in 8vo., and the Price is 14s.

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